1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Chapter 5

Late Childhood: From Loincloth to Thoughts of Marriage

WHEN an Alorese child is given his loincloth, he has taken the first step toward adult status. This marks the beginning of late childhood, a period that lasts from the age of five or six years until adolescence. Children between these ages are called moku. At the beginning of this stage the prolonged and violent temper tantrums begin to disappear, and with some exceptions they completely die out in the course of two or three years. I should suggest that the disappearance of these tantrums is explicable in terms of the data contained in the preceding chapter. Tantrums are not an adequate technique for mastering an external world so inconsistent as that provided by Atimelang. Aside from having the futility of this technique borne in on them, children from five or six onward begin to pick up other devices for mastering the environment—devices that give greater satisfactions than those they can force from their elders. It is primarily with these devices that this section will deal.

At this stage differences become apparent between the life of boys and that of girls, so that it will frequently be necessary to treat them separately. Certainly one general impression that can be stated immediately is that boys are much less shy, much more in evidence, and much more mobile than girls. The reasons may be found in what follows.

RELATION OF FOOD TO TRAINING FOR THE ADULT ROLE

The first question to consider is what food the child expects and from what sources. A boy can expect a meal at home about seven o'clock in the morning and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself in the fluid play groups of free-roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot; a variety of insects, usually spurned by adults, can be found; in the fields near the house are papayas, mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and other vegetables that can be eaten raw or can be easily cooked.

As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children and their playmates, but if raiding is too constant or the crop is scarce, children may be forbidden this kind of foraging. Such objections are most likely to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their assistance in the fields might be expected and is not

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) [578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [578 155 685] fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is customary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering [855 578] about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [861] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

The meat at feasts is always
distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons but not for themselves or their daughters. This is consistent with the theory that flesh food is the property of men. Since feasts are primarily occasions for food distribution and actual consumption is at home, women do get a share, but only as dependents of the men. Also, since meat is eaten primarily in connection with feasts or sacrifices and is definitely a treat, the way is open for it to become set in children's minds as a symbol of masculine prerogative. The system of meat distribution helps to reinforce early in life, and on a very basic level, the role of masculine prestige in the culture. Men are not the providers; in fact, they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for, but they are also the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then, is set during early childhood in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle that she will follow all her life. Yet no girl who is unmarried may make a contribution in her own name to food displays, even though she may have grown and prepared some of the food that is brought in her mother's name. This means that she may be assuming adult responsibilities without receiving adult recognition. It is worth noting in this connection that public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

The following condensed version of an Alorese tale illustrates nicely the role of the sexes, and especially of the mother-son relationship, in the matter of food. Here the young men appear demanding and vengeful, while the woman vacillates between being a gratifying and a frustrating figure.

Story of the Wasteful Sons

Two brothers went to work in their garden and their mother cooked food for them to take along. When they came home they said, "Our friends have finished the food. It would be nice to cook more." So the mother cooked more food and took it to them in the garden. Part of the food they ate, part they spilled. [The meaning is that in carrying the food to their mouths with a coconut-shell spoon they were careless and let a portion fall to the ground.] In the evening they again asked their mother to cook food for them to take to the fields. They took the food and again ate part and spilled part. Then they ran home to their mother, saying, "Mother, we are sick; therefore cook us millet." The mother put the feces of their youngest brother in the pot of millet she cooked for them.

When the brothers entered the house, they smelled feces and refused

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

857 Here, as among adults, one finds that skills may be
● [867] weighted on the side of one sex or the other, but unskillful imitations are not frowned upon or subjected to ill-natured ridicule. For instance, I have seen women laughingly play at beating gongs or shooting ar-
[522] rows, while men will playfully attempt to weave baskets or pound grain. In the same way little girls will try their hands at top-spinning and boys at cat's cradle.

The care of infants is a responsibility in which boys and girls, like men and women, are inclined to share equally. Children of both sexes may at times resent this task, as reference to the autobiographies will show. The following notes illustrate nicely the sort of scene that forcing such duties on a child may produce.

861 Early one morning three little boys about twelve years old were
857 gaily playing marbles on the dance place when Kolang appeared carrying her three-month-old infant. She approached her son, one of the three, and tried to strike him with the side of her clenched fist, as she scolded him for running off without the baby. At first the boy laughed and dodged. Finally, the mother got close enough for two or three blows, all rather light, and then she seized his ears and twisted them until the boy wailed. The mother stood by, still scolding him, but more gently now, and trying to hang the shawl with the baby in it over his shoulder. Some women who were waiting to go to the fields with Kolang joined in berating the boy for his unwillingness to care for his baby brother. Finally the mother picked up a stick and dealt the blubbering boy a soft blow. He then capitulated and swung the carrying shawl over his shoulder. During this episode, his two playmates had gone on playing marbles, paying no attention to the fuss. As soon as the women left, however, the three boys abandoned their game and set off on their daily aimless wandering about the village, the one burdened with his infant sibling.

857 Although boys quite patently have fewer duties than do girls, they have at the same time more privileges. For instance, at one of the young-corn feasts held in February, boys are the main actors and race through the village symbolically driving out all the rats for the coming year, while women and girls stay tightly shut in the houses. During the communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, boys may accompany the men to serve as fags, while women and girls are forbidden to approach the hunting camp. At all feasts not only do boys help in the butchering but they are the ones primarily relied upon to play the gongs. No linkage between privileges and duties is established in childhood.

In their play children actually imitate many adult activities. After a burial I have seen children playing death feasts for four or five days in

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

succession. They beat pieces of wood representing gongs. They organize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses. This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even organize mock wars between villages, in which they shoot blunt arrows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is on a voluntary basis and is usually joyously entered into as long as they are in the mood for it. §57

In most instances, boys are not counted on to render valuable services. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away to fetch a sword that had been promised him. When the boy failed to set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was censured by the men present, none of them made any move to interfere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but no attempt to train the young through permissive attitudes. §57 §83 §67 [§67] [§61]

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situation, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint, children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away when nonfunctionally obtrusive. §57 §58

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dramatic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero-victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equivalent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The tumukun had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes §61 §53 §72

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

§41 §59 §72 yelled at the guest that he had six fingers. Any unfavorable reference to physical appearance or peculiarities is a deadly insult, and in this instance the guest took the opportunity to institute a litigation against the boys, demanding a moko worth two dollars and fifty cents as a fine. There was no attempt to deny the guilt of the children, although only Red Eyes was to blame, and the older kin immediately set out to round up the culprits. Several of them managed to escape. Eight others were dragged to the dance place and made to squat on the ground before the bench of the chief. The kin of the children made a proper show of indignation and two of the stricter ones collected the boys' bows and arrows to toss them on the fire. Several of the men rapped their own children sharply on the heads with their knuckles.

§72 §[illegible] By this time the younger and less hardened boys were openly in tears. Meanwhile Red Eyes' father was summoned in his son's stead, and after a long discussion the insulted guest was persuaded to accept a broken gong worth fifty cents as compensation. The tumukun then §47 delivered a moral lecture, which was one of the rare occasions when behavioral precepts were laid down. He said, "If a person is lame, do not stare at him; if someone has big eyes, do not mention it; if someone makes mistakes in talking, do not laugh. If you do these things, people become angry and then your fathers and elder brothers will have to pay a fine for your faults." Here, the tumukun was expounding proper behavior, particularly for males. Another informant, in drawing the differences between men and women, said that men had to be more careful than women not to be insulting, because they were more vulnerable to financial revenge.

§72 §58 §41 The anecdote quoted above serves to illustrate many points: First, children are held responsible for misdeeds; second, group responsibility holds even for children; third, a child can escape some of the repercussions of his misdeeds by running off and hiding; and lastly, moral lectures are customarily delivered after, rather than before, the misdeed has been committed.

§58 The responsibility of boys for misdeeds, especially theft, is illustrated in a number of incidents in the autobiographies. Perhaps even more far-reaching in its implications is the inclination of people to blame any mishap, destruction, or theft on children. On several occasions when I complained of the theft or destruction of my property, I was answered with a shrug and the comment that boys must have done it and that therefore there was little chance of discovering the guilty one. Actually, in those instances that could be followed up adults were the real culprits.

li:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

155 parents. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly priced woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus raincapes that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

157 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields 157 "when a child is old enough to work" — which usually means between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply 157 by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

153 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives
● 167 an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to
153 adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

141 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

only by biologic parents. Theory does not deduce from the parents to §4
designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no
structure or uniform relationships. In practice, however, theory is ig-
nored. True siblings and parents' siblings are almost as free as parents
themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting
noses, tying up a child, and other such forms of treatment. Further-
more, older boys whose depredations may make them annoying to
adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults
are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such
corporal punishment.

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punish-
ment from them is probably not so acceptable as it might otherwise be.
And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any irritated
adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to
be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they
are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception §58
are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite §22
forms of amusement, especially among young men. I have seen youths §17
in their late teens and early twenties send boys on fool's errands and
deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guf-
faw with laughter when the crestfallen child returned. Fatton the in-
terpreter one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on
the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had
better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit
to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occa-
sion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a
bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return
he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indi-
cated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off
again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had
been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about
watching the procedure and laughing heartily, to the boy's evident
shame and anger.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken §§ 8
as a matter of course in Atimelang. To say "You lie" is considered a §77
statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, §81
"He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his
heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with
intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random."
The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
GF5 Alor GF5

577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
181 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fanmas the interpreter, who insisted that I *really* couldn't leave, was reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *fai hawé*,
178 "to persuade with false promises; *-kui*, to prevaricate; *-kura*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *kkala*, to daze (dancer) meaning, to speak crookedly; *-tima*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafakkalia*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *amai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-wara*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pattern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

§45 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disci-
347 plinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
§55 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however, bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
§46 slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Ainaleng, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved further from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
347 of the family, but a special term (*mailyo*) was applied to them.
§59 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

157 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

153 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are 157 frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolangkaliets mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

153 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor 149 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ- 153 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex- 153 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by 142 subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu- 138 ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The super- 137 ficious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin 142 in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

153 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character. 153 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the 153 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely 135 to have a peculiarly hollow infusion. The sexual role of the father, 153 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

lcDuBois E-S (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

x 189 tore off the flesh as you could see the bone. [The interpreter shivered at this point.] I cried. I brushed it off. Rimmon came to see and I told him that I had brushed the lice off and it must still be sore. Rimmon saw it in some words and shot it. In all we got five lice. Then Rimmon helped me up to Lawetika and I stayed there overnight while the others went home. [Question.] No, I didn't dream of this afterward.

February 13, 1939

When I was about six or seven, I cried because mother said we should go to the garden and I didn't want to. So I stayed home and played with my friends in the village. In the afternoon mother brought me some corn, which I roasted and ate. Then I cried again. I cried a lot. I cried because I wanted to eat with father's guests. Mother and
x 189 father said I couldn't. The guests, they said, had to eat alone. I kept
574 crying until everyone was through eating. I cried until everyone was
565 asleep. Father woke up and heard me still crying. So father put a
567 basket over my head that reached down to my stomach. Father held me while mother poured water on my head through the basket. I was still crying hard. So mother and father talked nicely to me. They said, "When guests come, you can't eat with them. If you are with them they wouldn't say anything here, but they would go home and say we didn't bring you up well because we let you eat with guests. We were angry with you for this reason, and for this reason we put a basket over your head and poured water on you." Then father said, "Will you act like this another time?" I was still crying under the basket and did not answer. Then father said, "Answer before I take off the basket." Then I said I wouldn't act like that again. Father said, "Next time guests come you mustn't stay near us but go with your mother." After that I stopped crying.

x 159 When I was about twelve or thirteen, father and mother went to cut weeds in Peerkairi. A big rain came. We were all there with my friends. [It is customary to have a group of children help in communal [476 field work.] My friends were on working. I sat under a rainspout be- 55] hind the line of workers. Father was working at the end of the line. He came toward me but I did not see him. He snatched off my cape and asked why I was just sitting. He said, "When you grow up you won't be accustomed to work and you will be lazy." He took my hands and rubbed them in the dirt, saying, "Your nails are long. You are lazy." All my nails were ripped and they bled. So I cried and ran away to Alarkewei, to Kolara [his father's first wife]. She said, "Maybe your mother and father have many male children, that they rub your

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
GFS Alor GFS

covered over the houses, pigs, and gardens until you couldn't see them any more. The rocks and mud all were rolling down into the ravine. All was good earth where the village had been. People decided to make new houses there, little field houses. They began building them. I saw Mandiwai of Dilimapo walking with a cane. He had been hit in the leg with stones as they rolled down from the mountain during the earthquake. Manimale (a distant kinsman) had a large wound on the side of his face and was being borne in one of the houses. There were no stones or trees left; there was only empty earth. People were going right and left, shouting and calling. Someone shouted to me to come quickly and help with the house of Manimale. I started to jump up. The ceremony was covering and it was down. [Pause.]

[I asked what he wished to talk about.] My grandmother, Tilaman, slept with a cane. Her husband followed the cane down into the ravine, shot him, and cut off his penis. He hunted eels and crayfish and wrapped them all up in leaves along with the penis. He went home and put the bundle on the cut dish and went up into the house. He told his wife there was a bundle of eels and crayfish below and she should get them and cook them. She went down and opened the bundle and said, "Eh, evil spirit, evil spirit." He said to her, "Just eat it. Maybe it will be tasty." When father was telling me this, he said, "When wives slept with other men, your forebears cut off their penes and threw them back into the vaginas. Some cut them off, wrapped them in leaves, and gave them to their wives to eat. So your wives can't wander about at random. My wife cannot hunt lice in men's hair or eat their semen. If she does, my heart becomes evil and I shall do as my forebears did." He said, "Now my wives are dead, but you, my children, must watch your wives. When they are in the fields, they must go right through to their destination, not stop to talk and dawdle or to chew betel. We eat as our forebears did, and we follow our forebears in this way."

At that time Faipani [wife of a cousin of the informant] gave Lakafani money to play cards. Her husband was angry, and we all took our clubs and fought with Lakafani. Now we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me. [Question.] He was the one who told us these stories of our forebears and he was the one who taught us. But the very first time I heard these stories was from my grandfather, Mangora. He told of

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

Once my mother went to dig tubers. She returned in the evening 159[x]
and cooked them. She was angry with me and hit me. I ran away and
didn't want to sleep in the house. I climbed a mango tree and wanted to
sleep there. Then Kolang, the mother of my friend Kolara, spoke to
her daughter and said, "You are two girls, so go call your sister to come
sleep with you." Kolara came to the mango tree and called to me, say-
ing, "Your mother has hit you and you have run away to sleep in a
mango tree, but come instead and sleep with me. You can't sleep in
a tree." So I came down and slept with her in her house. Mother didn't
call me to come home and eat. She didn't save food for me. She just
said, "Oh, she has run away." Early the next morning mother came and
spoke nicely to me, saying, "I have cooked, so come eat." I went home
and mother said, "I don't have boys. You are all girls. Other people
have boys. If you go to other people's houses and their boys bring [167] ●
home cats or their sons bring home meat, you stare at it and that isn't
nice. Maybe they don't say anything, but maybe in their hearts they are
angry. You must not go to other people's houses." Then she gave me a
tuber to eat. [She had omitted telling why her mother was angry with
her. I asked why.] When mother brought the tubers home, I wanted to
take one and roast it right away for myself, but mother said, "You
aren't the only one. There are your siblings. You must all eat together
and share them." I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." I went out-
side and sat by myself. When mother called I didn't come. Mother was
angry and came to me and struck me.

[The informant looked like a hurt child at this point. I asked if she
had had to work hard in the fields as a child or if other siblings had
done the work.]

When I was still small, my mother gave me part of a knife blade
with which to cut weeds. I worked in the early morning, and then I
saw my friends playing. I threw down the blade near mother and went
off to play. [I asked whether she or Kawainami did more garden
work.] Kawainami worked more. Mother and Kawainami would cook
for me before leaving and then go off together to work. They let me 159[x]
play while they worked in the fields. [I asked if she disliked garden [63]
work or didn't get on well with her sister and mother.] No, when I
wanted to work, I just cut off the tops of the weeds and didn't do it
well, so mother said, "Oh, you don't know how, so you had better
fetch wood and go off to play. I and Kawainami will cut the field."
[Now you know garden work. How did you learn?] When I first
went to cut weeds with mother, I just cut the tops and in one small